



Effect of Third Parties on Public Opinion After Class Idea Subsides.

**United Farmers or Patrons of Industry
in Canada From 1890-1896-1900.**

**The Equal Rights Movement
in 1891.**

**United Farmers in Ontario in 1919—Federal Affairs
at the next Election—Whoever Cultivates the Common
Ground the Most Will Get the Biggest Crop—But
Neighborly Co-operation is Needed to House the Full
Harvest—Heavy Head Shakes and Cold Hand Shakes
for Laurier in the Early Nineties—Mackenzie King's
Opportunity—Newspapers and Politics—Populists,
Prohibitionists and Other Third Parties in the United
States Rise and Vanish.**

**The Test for All Sections of Liberals is the Same
as Liberalism is the Creed of Open Minded Men.**

**Third Parties Have Arisen When Personal Regard For Old
Leaders Superseded Active Development of Principles, Policies
and Platforms.**

Women will Heal and Rule.

**This article on Third Parties is written by Alexander Smith, Ottawa, Secretary to
the Liberal Party in Federal and Provincial affairs 1898 to 1904 and General Organizer
in the Dominion General Elections 1896, 1900 and 1904 and in the Ontario Provincial
General Elections 1894, 1898 and 1902. Immediately after the Dominion General Elec-
tions of 1904 Mr. Smith took up the practice of law in the city of Ottawa and to many
others fell the task of organizing. Mr. Smith is Legal and Constitutional Adviser to
The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association.**

**Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from Modern Press, 78 O'Connor Street,
Ottawa, Ont., in parcels of 25 each for One Dollar, postage prepaid; in parcels of 100
each for Three Dollars, postage prepaid; and in packages of 400 each for Ten Dollars
per package, express charges in Ontario prepaid.**

(Issued June, 1920)

AC901
A7

1920

no. 0022

P#44

1920
(22)
**THE RECENT PAST. THE ACTIVE PRESENT AND THE
APPEARING FUTURE**

During the years of 1880 to 1896 the Farmers of Canada particularly Ontario, taking heart from the Populist movement in the United States, organized (in Ontario) a powerful organization presided over by a Grand Board which was duly empowered by the Grand Association as representative of the subordinate lodges. They had over 200,000 membership in Ontario and in Provincial General Elections of 1894 elected seventeen of their body to the Legislative Assembly, and the government of Sir Oliver Mowat had but one a majority over all the other groups. The total membership of the House was in 1894-94. It is now 111. In the Federal General Elections of 1896 the Patrons of the Province of Ontario elected but three members to the House Commons. One of these, a former Conservative, through the good offices of the Liberals, was elected by acclamation; another, a former Liberal, defeated the Conservatives; and the third, a former Liberal, defeated a Liberal candidate. The McCarthyites, a wing of the Conservative Party in favor of "Hands off M. nitoba" on the school question, and for a substantial reduction in the tariff were also actively in the field in 1896. With Patrons, McCarthyites and other scattered independents in the field there were 80 ridings in which more than two candidates ran. The McCarthyites elected two candidates, these and the three Patrons and the forty-three Liberals elected gave the opposition 4 Ontario seats being a majority of four from Ontario in 1896. There were the 92 Federal seats in Ontario.

In 1898, in the Provincial general elections of Ontario, the Liberals won but the Patrons did not carry a seat; and in the Federal General Elections of 1900 the Liberals won but the Patrons did not have a candidate in the field. Four ran, one as an independent and he was defeated; another as a Liberal and he as well as a third, a new man who ran as a Conservative, was elected. The fourth ran as an independent Liberal but was defeated.

GREAT CONSERVATIVES

In 1896 the excellent platform work of D'Alton McCarthy, M.P., for many years the head and front of the Conservative party and Equal Rights Movement, which had arisen in Ontario because the Federal Conservative Government had not disallowed the Act of the Province of Quebec settling the disputes with the Jesuits over estates in that province, had a powerful influence throughout the vast Dominion in weakening the force of the then Conservative government. His speeches for a revision of the tariff, coupled with the fervor of the leaders amongst the Patrons of Industry and other Independents, added greatly to the power that swept the Conservative government out of office. Other forces also helped win although these still believed in the old Tory Fiscal Policy. The foremost of these men were Hon. N. Clarke Wallace, M.P., head of the Orange Order, who was for sometime Controller of Customs in the Conservative government but resigned that position because he, strong Conservative as he was, could no longer support the Conservative government of the time. In his campaign he was ably assisted by the late Ross Robertson, proprietor of *The Telegram*, Toronto, who successfully ran against a government Conservative candidate. Conservatives like Wallace and Robertson were out to teach the "Old Gang" a lesson. They were a power amongst the electors and the "Old Gang" felt it. It is no secret that had D'Alton McCarthy lived he would have been invited to become a member of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Cabinet in the Fall of 1898.

THE STRENGTH OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

Powerful as these independent elements were as an aid to the great force of public opinion as developed by the Liberals, they were but small in their effect to the influence wielded by such men in Ontario as—Sir Richard Cartwright, Hon. David Mills, James Sutherland, Wm. Paterson, Wm. Mulock, Dr. Landerkin, M. C. Cameron, Dr. Peter McDonald, Dr. J. H. Wilson, Robert Beith, R. E. Truax, Wm. McGregor, M. K. Cowan, John Clark, John Waldie, A. T. Wood, T. H. MacPherson, J. M. Hurley, John McMillan, Archibald Campbell, B. M. Britton, James F. Lister, F. T. Frost, Wm. Gibson, C. S. Hy-men, Malcolm McGuigan, John Charlton, J. B. McColl, J. D. Edgar, N. A.

rticularly in
ates, organ-
rand Board
ative of the
and in the
ody to the
but one of
House was
of 1896 the
e House of
cies of the
defeated a
candidate.
Hands off
the tariff,
and other
more than
e and the
osition 48
were then

erals won,
ections of
the field.
a Liberal
s elected.

for many
ts Move-
Govern-
the dis-
influence
servative
he fervor
ts, added
of office.
ry Fiscal
head of
Conser-
servative
he time.
roprietor
ent Com-
e out to
tors and
lived he
Cabinet

at force
in their
d Cart-
ck, Dr.
Robert
Waldie,
chibald
S. Hy-
N. A.

Belcourt, Wm. Hutchinson, Joseph Featherston, James Grieve, D. K. Erb, John Lang, R. Hall, I. Proulx, Thos. Mackie, W. C. Edwards, Wm. Lount, Geo. McHugh, R. J. McLaughlin, E. W. B. Snider, James Livingstone, James McMullen, James Innes, A. Semple, James Sommerville, Thomas Bain and others younger than those who exercised an influence in public life.

The large majority of these men were in the contest for Reciprocity in 1891 and they, against fearful odds, carried 44 Ontario seats whilst their opponents carried 48 seats. The Equal Rights movement, headed by D'Alton McCarthy, had shaken confidence in the Conservatives. In the next two or three years numerous by-elections took place with the result that by 1896 the Ontario Liberal contingent had dwindled down to about thirty only. The later by-elections made some changes and at dissolution the House stood Liberals 83, Conservatives 56 and Independents 8. In the Fall and early Winter of 1895-6 wherever three candidates contested a seat the Liberal ran third and lost his deposit, but in straight fights the Conservatives were defeated.

INDEPENDENTS IN 40 ONTARIO SEATS IN 1896.

In 1896 in the 92 Ontario (Federal) seats Independents ran in 40 seats and the Liberals did not nominate candidates in 19 seats. There was, therefore, 30 seats in which the Liberals were opposed by candidates claiming to be independent and in almost all of these Conservatives were in the field. In 15 of these (30) seats the arrangement was more or less agreeable to the Liberals and the Independents (most of whom were originally Conservatives) but in the other 15 of these (30) seats the contests were a cause of regret to the Progressive elements. However, in the general result the government, which had a majority of about 30 seats in Ontario when it aspealed to the country, had a minority of 4 seats in Ontario on June 23rd, 1896. So, too, in the great West. In the Fall of 1894 when Laurier took his first tour West, accompanied by men chiefly from Ontario who strove to seek out candidates and encourage organization, there was but one Liberal M.P. from that vast domain. There were 17 seats all told but with the driving force of the Liberals and the destructive methods of the independent elements the Liberals carried 10 seats out of the 17 or a majority of 3.

HEAVY HEAD SHAKES AND COLD HAND SHAKES FOR LAURIER IN THE EARLY NINETIES

Wilfrid Laurier became leader in 1887 and in 1891 a general election was suddenly sprung upon the country and the Liberals made a splendid showing except in the Maritime Provinces and West of the Great Lakes. In 1893 the Liberals held a National Liberal Convention at Ottawa and endorsed and confirmed Laurier in the Leadership.

In 1893-4 and 5 Laurier toured the country almost continuously when the House was not in session. Particularly did he tour Ontario and the West, within three months after the National Liberal Convention in 1893 he was touring Ontario addressing large open air meetings. All throughout these years as he moved about he was received with heavy head shakes and cold hand shakes. Statesmen of solely Provincial vision kept clear of him but in 1896 they heard the sound of the going and whispering inquired "What chance has Laurier?" When they thought his chance was good they lent their names but none of them contested a seat. In 1917 it was not hard to answer this question and so the politicians of Provincial vision lent not the influence of great names to old friends; but wielded the power they had acquired (because of Federal Liberal successes from 1896-11) for the destruction of their former associates. Some of them took no chances. They took jobs first and shouted for principle afterwards. Those, however, who voted for principle without a job are the electors who will wield a mighty power in the next contest. As in all contests when a political party breaks up, the regulars, even if in the minority, carry on the organization.

In all five (Federal) elections (previous to 1911) in which Laurier was leader, the Liberals elected an average of slightly over 40 in Ontario to support him. In 1911 and 1917 the average was 11. In the Ontario Provincial elections of 1894, 1898 and 1902 the Liberals were successful.

MACKENZIE KING'S OPPORTUNITY

The regulars must, in order to be successful, recognise the present conditions and not trust to vain repetitions. With this in view Hon. W. Mackenzie King, M.P., may find it necessary to broaden the constitution and enlarge the personnel of the National Liberal Committee which is now considerably in the direction and control of Provincial leaders, and some members of the Federal Liberal Cabinet defeated in 1911. Many things have happened since 1911 and it is also but natural that provincial statesmen should give precedence to local affairs. On account of the great upheavals in the last years it might be said that all the electors (outside the old time Tories and Conservatives) are now of a third party of some kind or degree except that the Liberals everywhere are asserting their rights to have the opportunity to present their programme or platform and unfold, enlarge, and develop sound political principles of their faith. The Conservatives do not desire activity as the less public discussion the better for them for a satisfied member becomes a Tory (Conservative).

No matter in what land or in what language the toiling masses discuss proposals for the betterment of their condition the name of Mackenzie King is known amongst them.

Mackenzie King is the first Canadian statesman to have early in life an appreciative conception of world-wide international affairs. In their later years Sir John Macdonald, the great Conservative statesman, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the great Liberal leader, had opportunities in this regard as had Sir Robert Borden, and Sir Robert did not fail to profit by those opportunities as is evident by the stand he took in Britain for the maintenance of Canadian autonomy.

HOW TO DEVELOP PUBLIC OPINION

With his splendid platform capacity Mackenzie King would do well to persist in touring the country, and if he grows weary let him renew his strength by retouring, and thus present his programme before all the electors and small bodies as well as the great an opportunity to co-operate in developing political thought.

With this, and with the Liberal Whips visiting and revisiting the cent points in each and every constituency, and the organisers occasionally conferring with the committees in each and every municipality in each and every riding, Liberal public opinion is sure to develop strong and most powerful forces. The strongest forces are the leaders in each polling sub-division district and a splendid aid to these in their interest in the good cause would be a carefully prepared handbook of ready and useful information. Particulars should the finances and expenditures be dealt with. Special reference to pages of Blue Books, where verifications may be obtained, should be made—chapter and verse as it were.

NEWSPAPERS CANNOT GIVE THE SPACE TO POLITICAL MATTERS

Platform work is all the more essential now because of the fact that newspapers cannot give the space to political matters which they freely gave previously to the dawn of the twentieth century. The sporting and financial pages gradually took the space that political policies and debate occupied. In addition to this, the city newspapers seem obliged to publish pages of reading matter about Moving Picture Shows in order to satisfy their readers and meet the demand for this kind of mental activity. Advertising also has assumed a new and increasing phase, and municipal and health, and social and domestic matters daily demand their special pages. Politicians and statesmen who desire to advance a cause will find, as in the successes of the past, the public platform and organization their best medium, and possibly the only effective methods.

THE FARMERS' VOTE IN ONTARIO IN 1919.

The *Farmers' Sun*, of December 8rd, 1919, published the following:—

HOW THE VOTES DIVIDED

The following table shows the number of candidates elected, and total votes polled (in all ridings), and by each organization represented in the late Provincial Election:

	Candidates Elected	Votes Polled
Liberals	29	336,715
Conservatives	25	393,794
Farmers	45	286,874
Laborites	11	127,096
Independents	1	46,086
Totals.....	111	1,183,567

Four Conservatives were elected by acclamation, but in the above it is presumed the *Sun* took past elections into consideration, so in a general way the table is correct. In an editorial in the *Sun* of the above date the results are dealt with in a more striking manner, as follows:—

"Although the Conservatives polled more votes in the late election than either the Liberal or U.F.O. the Conservatives elected fewer candidates than either of the other organizations named. On the other hand the United Farmers polled fewer votes per candidate elected than any other organization in the field. The Conservatives polled over 15,000 votes per candidate elected; the Liberals nearly 12,000, the Labor Party over 11,000; the one Independent upwards of 46,000 and the U.F.O. less than 6,000."

LIBERALS MAY CLAIM HALF OF TOTAL VOTE CAST IN ONTARIO PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS, 1919

In the above calculations it should be borne in mind that the Liberals withdrew candidates, or decided not to nominate, in 39 ridings, four of which went by acclamation to the Conservatives, so that the opposition vote was not divided, and in thirty-five ridings it may be said the Liberal vote was polled for either the Farmer candidate or the Labor candidate or the Independent candidate. It is a safe and moderate estimate to say that at the very least one third of the votes noted in the above table as having been cast for the Farmers, Labors and Independent was Liberal. The total to these three bodies is 429,956 and one third of this is 143,318. This added to 336,715 makes a total Liberal vote of 460,033 and reduces the combined Farmer, Labor and Independent vote to 286,636 out of a total of 1,183,567 or less than one fourth of the total vote. The hundred odd Conservative or government candidates polled but few over one third of the grand total vote, so there is no doubt of their defeat. It was a collapse. In 1894 the Mowat Government (Liberal) contested almost all the seats and firmly proclaimed and maintained its own policy and although the Patrons had a lodge membership of 200,000 they elected but 17 members to the House. In 1919 the U.F.O. had but 46,000 club members but they elected 45 members, clearly showing the effect of the Liberals leaving the field to them in about 30 ridings.

The *Toronto Globe*, in its issue of Wednesday, January 7th, 1920, published the following:

"An analysis of the voting at the last Provincial Election has been made by the Ontario Reform Association, which furnishes some illuminating information.

"The Conservatives contested 101 seats, and had four acclamations and polled 391,278 votes.

"The Liberals contested 72 seats and polled 333,550 votes.

"The U.F.O. contested 68 seats and polled 253,090 votes.

"Labor contested 24 seats and polled 131,394 votes.

"Independents ran in 17 seats and polled 56,256 votes.

"The total vote polled was 1,170,569. In 1914 the Liberals polled 70,130 votes in ridings which at the last election were not contested, while the Conservatives in 1914 polled 31,384 votes in ridings which were not contested at the last election, including four in which acclamations occurred."

Ontario is experimenting as to how a government supported by one third of the popular vote may be conducted.

COULD HAVE BEEN A REAL COALITION

These figures, in the main, conform to the figures given in the *Farmers' Sun*. They clearly show that if the Liberals had contested twenty more seats than they did they would have elected the largest group, but instead of that they chose to show a more than friendly spirit towards other progressive elements (and did not nominate in 30 seats) with the result of sure defeat to the government. A real coalition would have embodied the Liberals, the United Farmers, the Independent Labor Party and other Independents.

Union Government is a government composed of individuals representing themselves only, whilst a coalition government on the other hand is composed of men who enter the coalition with the advice, consent, and approval of their (political) parties, supporters or followers.

The Government formed at Ottawa in 1917, composed of Conservatives, Nationalists, and Liberals was a Union Government—none of the individuals entering into its formation had the sanction or approval of a party. The provincial government formed in Ontario in the Fall of 1919 was a Coalition of United Farmers and Labor men for at the formation of the government the (party) supporters of the members of the government agreed to its formation.

FARMERS AND POPULISTS AND OTHER THIRD OR CLASS PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Some light is cast on third or class parties in Canada by the history of third parties in the United States. In 1876 the Greenback Party, with what must be confessed to be a very insecure platform, polled a vote of eighty-one thousand out of eight million. At the next election it polled a vote of three hundred and seven thousand out of nine million. At the next election it had dwindled to one hundred and three thousand out of ten million, and that was the last of it. The Prohibition Party's candidate in 1876, polled nine thousand votes out of eight million. In 1880 it polled ten thousand, and in 1888 one hundred and fifty-two thousand votes. In 1892 it polled two hundred and sixty-four thousand votes out of a total of twelve million. That was its high water mark. From then on to the present it polled about an average of 200,000. At the last election (in 1916) it polled a vote of a little over two hundred and twenty-one thousand out of a total vote of over eighteen million. In 1892 the People's Party, or Populists, after disturbing the old parties in the state elections in some of the Western States, entered the Federal arena polling a vote of one million out of a total of eleven million. At the next election it went out of existence in both State and Federal matters, merging itself into one of the two main parties. Such a summary of third party government in the United States would not be complete without one more example. It was not until 1892 that Socialists first ran a candidate for Presidency in the United States. In that year they polled twenty-one thousand votes out of twelve million. In 1904 their vote had grown to four hundred and two thousand out of a total vote of thirteen million. Since that time their strength has varied from over 420,000 in 1908 to 901,873 in 1912 and down to 600,000 in 1916.

In the United States when an amendment to the Constitution is proposed it must, in order to become a part of the Constitution, be passed upon first by a two thirds vote of the House of Representatives and two thirds vote of the Senate and it is submitted then to the several States and three fourths of them must adopt the proposed Amendment before it can become law. Subsequent to this adoption, Congress passes an Enforcement Act to carry out in detail the principle adopted by the Amendment. The Enforcement Act may be amended from time to time by a majority vote of Congress like any other Act as it is not in itself an Amendment to the Constitution.

All this cannot be done in a short period of time, but during the years 1918-19 a constitutional amendment was enacted making prohibition the law of the land for the whole of the United States. It had to receive the endorsement of three fourths or 36 of the 48 States to become law. It received the endorsement of 44 or 45 of the States. This should not be confounded with the War Time Prohibition regulations. The constitutional amendment was enacted when the Prohibition Party vote was the smallest in its career but the

objects had been housed or taken up by the other parties and hence the result. Previous to this Amendment several of the States had adopted prohibition to the full extent of their own powers. The Federal Constitutional Amendment makes all the States "bone dry."

LIBERALS SHOULD TAKE HEED AS THEY DID IN 1896

In the Federal Elections in the United States in 1912 the Wilson Party polled 6,296,019, Taft 3,484,956 and Roosevelt 4,119,507. The Roosevelt (or Independent Republican and Progressive Party) polled nearly a million more votes than the regular Republican nominee (Taft) secured; but when matters righted themselves the regular or organized or rather historic wing of the party, although in the minority, was still in control. As usual, however, the "Regulars" learned a lesson by the outburst of independent action so these movements are not by any means to be despised. It is interesting, however, to note that wherever Roosevelt spoke for Hughes, the Republican candidate in 1916, the Republican vote in those sections did not come up to its old time record, for the Progressive Republicans did not swing towards Hughes even with Roosevelt urging them to do so, and wherever Bryan spoke for Wilson the Democratic vote strengthened. California was a strong Roosevelt State and in 1916 returned a Republican Governor and Party in the State elections and on the same day gave Wilson the Democrat a majority, thus making him President. Wilson and Bryan observed the new conditions and acted accordingly, and the "stand patters," who at that time were the Republicans, lost when the chances seemed even too good.

THIRD PARTIES HAVE ARISEN WHEN PERSONAL REGARD FOR OLD LEADERS SUPERCEDED ACTIVE DEVELOPMENT OF PRINCIPLES, POLICIES AND PLATFORMS

In the case of Sir John A. Macdonald, for over a third of a century leader of the Conservative party; and of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, for nearly a third of a century leader of the Liberals, the personal regard for the leaders superseded the active development of principles, policies, and platforms. In a country with democratic institutions it would appear a wise policy for political parties to have frequent National, Provincial and other Conventions to assert principles, develop policies, and proclaim platforms so as to enlarge and advance the public good and at the same time weigh well the factor of leadership—for, in a country of a constitutional democratic form of government—not one but many in the course of a third of a century become qualified to undertake the duties and responsibilities of leadership.

Great praise is given to President Abraham Lincoln for his American Civil War record, but there were ten thousand others who could have filled the bill under the guidance of the Constitution and the spirit of the people for "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord." Persons are transient. Principles are enduring. Policies and platforms are changeable with the times.

THE EFFECT OF THIRD PARTIES AFTER THEY PASS

The impelling forces, therefore, in the formation of third or class parties are in the nature of a protest against previous management of affairs and a distrust of the long established methods of procedure followed by the historic parties, but at the same time they are factors in an educative process the effect of which continues after these organizations have passed away chiefly because one of the old parties is found to be able to house and nurture all that is commendable in the third party programmes.

FOUR GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Alexander Mackenzie, Edward Blake, Oliver Mowat, and Wilfrid Laurier, ever kept before the people four guiding principles of Liberalism. These are individual liberty, collective prosperity, racial and religious harmony, and growth towards nationhood. They struggled to make political authority stable by resting it on the broadest possible basis of popular responsibility. They maintained that the greatest security for the Empire was obtained by allowing the greatest diversity and fullest liberty of self-government in all its parts. And as regards the liberty of the individual they endeavoured to make it a reality instead of a sham by the advocacy of public universal education and by an ever-increasing standard of humane conditions.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

The most pressing problem at the present time is the economic condition or situation. Some say it is closely linked with the customs tariff, others attribute it to the control which greed has over all classes of people as evidenced by the high cost of food and all materials for sustaining a comfortable and comfortable life. The women more than the men more fully realise this. The principles that have come down to us must be maintained, and in their guiding light we should apply ourselves to solving the problem of how best to secure for each a due reward for his or her toil. When times are good people will pay no heed to economic problems. It has been stated that you cannot interest people who have pleasures to attend to in any of the expense involved. To them the Tory doctrine of 1911, "let well enough alone," appeals.

WOMEN WILL HEAL AND RULE

During the past few years many political temples have been destroyed and structures will have to be reared anew upon principles that are enduring. They may have to be renewed from time to time as the temples are after all but the husks.

The world is shattered, bleeding and torn. The medicine of healing is needed. Will this medicine be administered by the women? Now that women are entitled to vote, the vast majority (women and young men) of all the electors who will vote at the next election will be voting for the first time. Possibly in the next House of Commons the majority will be women for they are entitled to be elected to parliament.

To the present moment men seem to be oblivious to the fact that now in the political sphere the greatest force the world has ever known is an active participant. With courage, forbearance, toleration, and co-operation the women will bring about great transformations.

A NEW ALIGNMENT GUIDED BY LIBERAL PRINCIPLES

In 1896 in Canada the Liberal platform was so courageously and persistently advocated that the independent movements found with the Liberals the common ground they were seeking and hence Liberal success.

At the National Liberal Convention of 1919 the programmes of the Farmers and other active bodies were examined and the Liberal platform then adopted is sufficiently progressive to give to all classes a common bond of action even to a greater degree than in 1896 and the years preceding that eventful period. The principles enunciated by a large number of addresses and in the resolutions adopted, if properly presented to the public, ought to be a standard for all who desire that the country should progress. Whoever cultivates the common ground the most will get the biggest crop, but neighbourly co-operation is needed to house the full harvest.

THE TEST FOR ALL SECTIONS OF LIBERALS IS THE SAME, AS LIBERALISM IS THE CREED OF OPEN-MINDED MEN

Liberalism has its foundation in principle, in conviction, and in ideals. Apart from these, Liberalism is nothing, and mere party organisation and machinery are but a husk if the head of the thing be absent. That is the true justification of the assertion of a free and untrammelled Liberalism; it is the ultimate test of all who profess themselves Liberals, and must determine the attitude of different sections of liberals one towards another. The test for all sections is the same.

Liberalism is the creed of open-minded men and has a long and commendable record of actual experience to draw from. This is an equipment which other parties have not at hand to enable them to carry out what they undertake. Liberalism in Canada stands for free form of unity—which is autonomy, freer trade, enlarged markets, economy, and self reliance. It is the opposite of the imposition of external authority without responsibility to the governed which is Imperialism, high protection, restricted markets, extravagance, and coercion.

42

condition
as attri-
buted
ing life.
es that
ght we
each a
no heed
ole who
e Tory

destroyed
during.
after all

aling is
women
all the
st time.
for they

now in
an active
e women

IPLES

and per-
Liberals

of the
platform
on bond
ling that
addresses
ght to be
Whoever
at neigh-

S THE

in ideals.
tion and
the true
it is the
rmine the
st for all

commend-
ent which
ey under-
autonomy,
pposite of
governed
ance, and